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JANUARY MEETING, 1887.

THE Society held its first meeting of the new year on the 13th instant, the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The Secretary's record of the last meeting was read.

Among the accessions by gift to the Library, mentioned by the Librarian, was "Rambles in Old Boston, New England, by Rev. Edward G. Porter," a work of considerable original research, containing descriptions of the quaint buildings in the oldest part of the city, a map of the North End, and nearly one hundred illustrations.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that Professor Allen, of Cambridge, had accepted his election as a Resident Member.

The Cabinet-keeper reported that a beautiful and lifelike photograph of the late Charles C. Perkins had been presented to the Cabinet by his brother, Mr. Edward N. Perkins, and that a relic from the Hancock House had been given by the Rev. W. C. Winslow.

Mr. Charles G. Loring, of the Museum of Fine Arts, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Professor Mandell Creighton, of Cambridge, England, was chosen a Corresponding Member.

The Committee appointed to consider the subject of asking Congress to take measures for the preparation of an index of all documents relating to American history which are in foreign archives, reported through Mr. Parkman the following vote : —

Voted, That the memorial to Congress of Benjamin H. Field, Nicholas Fish, John Bigelow and others, praying that body to "authorize the preparation of an index of all the documents of American concern in private or public archives of Great Britain, Holland, France, and Spain, that accumulated between the years 1763 and 1783, and appropriate a suitable compensation for such work, and recommending that Mr.

B. F. Stevens be employed to prepare the said index," meets the approval of this Society; and that the President of this Society be authorized and requested to co-operate with the memorialists by signing, in his official capacity, a memorial in aid thereof.

The Committee appointed to investigate the historical value of the alleged Sharpless portraits of Washington, recently exhibited in this city, and which it was hoped would be purchased by the Government, made the following report:—

Report on the Historical Portraits exhibited by Major Walter.

The interest of the collection centres in the three Washington portraits,—the profile and full face of the General and the profile of Lady Washington. The origin of these portraits, as set forth by Major Walter, is briefly as follows. Robert Cary, a London merchant,—agent for Washington, and also his admiring and devoted friend,—sent an artist named Sharples to America for the express purpose of painting his portrait. Sharples did so,—in 1796, as Major Walter says in one place, or at some period not precisely known, as he says in another.

The evidence that such pictures were painted by Sharples is contained mainly in a letter bearing Washington's signature, in extracts from letters ascribed to Sharples himself, and in a letter signed by Robert Cary. All these are printed in Major Walter's book. The Washington letter has no date. Its style bears no resemblance to the well-known style of the alleged writer. It bears, however, a striking resemblance to the very peculiar style of Major Walter, which is marked by frequent and conspicuous solecisms. One of these is his often repeated use of the verb *to name*, in the sense of *to mention*. Washington also is made to say: "I have been solicited *to name*, that if Mr. Sharples thinks of returning to this country, a good opportunity would be offered to bring them [the pictures] out." And again, a few lines below: "My wife declines to join in asking your consent; I have undertaken simply *to name* it." The letter begins with thanks for two jars of pickled tripe sent as a present by Cary; and the illustrious writer adds, "Dental infirmity impels my caring for this necessary

item in our domestic commissariat," — a sentence eminently Walterian; as is also the injunction that Sharples shall be required to paint copies of his portraits "in the best manner of his capability."

As this letter not only testifies that Sharples painted the portraits, but also that in Washington's opinion they were "by far the best of any made," the Committee thought it necessary to learn if possible where the original was to be found, and an inquiry to this effect was written to Major Walter. His answer, though long, failed to give the least information, and the question was therefore repeated in still more explicit terms. This drew from him a letter stating that Washington's letters to Cary had been destroyed, at the writer's request, for political reasons; and that, in his own words, "the tripe letter to Mr. Cary seems to have met the designed fate of all such." Why in this deplorable holocaust so devoted an admirer should have thought it necessary to include the perfectly innocent letter in question, which must have been of interest to him as a striking memento of friendship from his distinguished correspondent, is a problem which we are unable to solve. 'Nor has a somewhat pressing interrogatory enabled us to say how, if the letter was destroyed in Washington's time, Major Walter has been able to print it to-day.

Major Walter gives extracts from certain letters alleged to be written by the artist Sharples, from which it appears that he was on intimate terms with Washington, Lee, Hamilton, and many other eminent men. All these extracts bear the unmistakable stamp of the Walterian style. As in the alleged Washington letter, the word *name* is used in the sense of *mention*. Major Walter, when writing in his own person, also makes frequent use of the word *evidence* as a verb; and Sharples is made to blunder in the same modern journalistic manner, as thus: "General Hamilton *evidences* more what painters would call 'background knowledge'" (p. 72). Again, Major Walter often speaks of Washington as "the Chief," for example: "Hamilton is credited with an earnest desire to possess a portrait of the Chief;" "the Chief's profound knowledge of English history;" "his Chief highly valued his counsel;" "the great Chief was suffering deeply;" "the great Chief's integrity;" "the Chief said," etc. (pp. 53,

83, 102, 174, 185, 190). It is something more than a coincidence that Sharples uses the same expression, and this no less than six times in one letter, thus: "Franklin is not alone in this feeling as to the Chief;" "the great Chief removed my embarrassment;" "the Chief was conversing;" "after the Chief's visit to me I seemed lost;" "when the Chief and his generals called;" "the Chief again brought back my attention" (pp. 69, 71, 72, 73, 74). If Major Walter's style is odd, confused, and incoherent, so also, in exactly the same queer fashion, is that of Sharples. Major Walter was asked where the original of these letters could be seen, and he replied that "there are no journals or papers of Sharples in existence that we know of." Where, then, did he get the extracts?

Ten or twelve years before the Revolution, Robert Cary and Company were Washington's agents in London, and several of his letters to them will be found in Sparks's edition of his writings; the last, written in 1765, complaining that they do not get good prices for his tobacco, and threatening to dispense with their services unless they get better ones. An order from Washington to Cary in 1761 is also printed in Lossing's "Home of Washington." But it is not as the business agent of Washington's earlier years, but as the friend, benefactor, and devoted admirer of his old age, that Cary figures in Major Walter's book, to which fruitful source the Committee owe all the knowledge that they have of him in this latter capacity. An extract from a letter of Cary, eulogizing his illustrious friend, is given on page 242. Here one looks in vain for the characteristic traces of Major Walter's pen. On the contrary, the utterances of "good Robert Cary," as Major Walter calls the newly discovered benefactor of Washington, have a sonorous ring more suggestive of that green island of which in these days we hear so much than of the sober haunts of old commercial London. "May not," he exclaims, — "may not the follies of the Old World at some distant day inter all the pride of its power and the pomp of its civilization, and may not human nature find her destined renovation in the Empire created by Washington! May not the glory of past great ones prove to be legendary traditions! The monumental record of natural rise and natural ruin proclaims that no splendor of achievement, no solidity of success, can insure to

Empire the permanence of its possession. Troy thought so once, yet the land of Priam lives only in song! Thebes thought so once, yet her hundred gates have crumbled, and her tombs are as the dust they were destined to commemorate. So thought Palmyra! Where is she? So thought Demosthenes and the Spartans, but Leonidas is trampled by the timid slave. The rays of their glory are as if they never had been, and the island that was then a mere speck, rude and neglected in the barren ocean, now rivals all the wealth of their commerce, the glory of their names, the fame of their philosophy, the eloquence of their senate, and the inspiration of their bards" (p. 242).

By a remarkable coincidence, the Irish orator, Charles Phillips, about the year 1814, used words almost identical at a dinner at Dina's Island, in the Lakes of Killarney, a young American, John Howard Payne, being present. "Who shall say that when, in its follies or its crimes, the Old World may have interred all the pride of its power and all the pomp of its civilization, human nature may not find its destined renovation in the New! . . . When the glories of our name shall be but the legend of tradition, philosophy will rise again in the sky of her Franklin, and glory rekindle at the urn of her Washington. I appeal to history. Tell me, thou reverend chronicler of the grave, can ambition, wealth, commerce, or heroism secure to empire the permanency of its possessions? Alas! Troy thought so once, yet the land of Priam lives only in song! Thebes thought so once, yet her hundred gates have crumbled, and her monuments are as the dust they were vainly intended to commemorate! So thought Palmyra; but where is she? So thought the countries of Demosthenes and Leonidas; yet Sparta is trampled by the timid slave, and Athens insulted by the servile Ottoman. The days of their glory are as if they had never been; and the island which was then a speck, rude and neglected in the barren ocean, now rivals the ubiquity of their commerce, the glory of their arms, the force of their philosophy, the eloquence of their senate, and the inspiration of their bards."

If it is not likely that the "plain London merchant" — the words are Major Walter's — would have poured himself out in this rhetorical strain, neither is it likely that the Irish orator had ever heard of Cary, or still less could have got access to

his private papers. On the other hand, it is very likely that the words of Phillips, which have been often printed, and which some of us will remember in the school-books of our boyhood, may have met the eye of Major Walter. The passage, as quoted above, is taken from the "American Preceptor," edition of 1837.

Besides the so-called letters of Washington, Sharples, and Cary, Major Walter gives various others, meant directly or indirectly to support his assertions as to the origin of the portraits. Few of them are dated; nearly all bear the names of persons now dead, and nearly all have the conspicuous stamp of Major Walter's peculiar genius. General Gates's wife is made to say, "The subject will never be *named* to him." So also Colonel Trumbull, "He has promised to *name* the matter;" and Albert Gallatin, "You had better not *name* this at any meeting." One of the peculiarities of Major Walter's style is the frequent putting together of two substantives, the first playing the part of an adjective. Accordingly, Colonel Trumbull fails not to do the same, as follows, all in one letter: "ordeal repetition," "penance process," "art occupations," "life originals," "canvas attempts" (pp. 59, 60, 61). Most of these letters, however, are comparatively recent, and even if genuine could only prove that certain eminent persons had seen the pictures and believed in them. The Walterian mark is everywhere conspicuous. Thus Washington Irving is made to say: "*The owning family* [a favorite expression of Major Walter's] are described as 'English gentlefolks;' and we can only hope that when the time comes for any disposal of the pictures, the spirit of that class may be *evidenced*" (p. 18). Again, Mr. Cadwallader Colden writes "I *name* to you that Mr. Armstrong is one of the Astor executors" (p. 19). Elihu Burritt declares that "Stuart's unnaturally high coloring *evidences* that the artist was indulging in a freak of fancy" (p. 37); and Macready the actor, "The sketches, though *evidencing* great ability" (p. 21). Ralph Waldo Emerson, like Irving and various others, writes about the "*owning family*;" and Nathaniel Hawthorne says: "These heads [those of the female portraits] *evidence* that infinitude of womanly beauty and force of character marking the dames most in vogue at the court of Mount Vernon. The President clearly appreciated good looks, and Martha herself had an eye

in the right vein, *evidenced* in the noble stature and bearing of her husband" (p. 35). It has hitherto been imagined that Irving, Emerson, and Hawthorne knew how to use the English language.

Trumbull, speaking with easy familiarity of Washington's wife, is made to say, "Martha's blue blood often crops out;" and, "Many will never forgive her desire for exclusive English possession" (of the portraits). And Gallatin writes in the same Walterian strain: "Martha Washington designed these portraits for British possession." In short, the eccentricities of Major Walter's style are reproduced in all but three or four of the letters which he would have us accept as those of distinguished persons no longer living to disclaim them.

Examples might be greatly multiplied. There are, it is true, several letters which may be genuine, but they prove only that the writers had taken Major Walter at his word, which is not surprising, since he had not yet printed the book in which he proves that his word cannot be trusted. Except his statements backed by equally questionable letters, the Committee have found no evidence that the Washington pictures were even heard of by any American before the exhibition of one of them in New York in 1854.

It is worth while to observe that in the letter mentioned above, Elihu Burritt is represented as saying, "Wendel Holmes, Ward Beecher, and others of our poets and literature-makers, have felt their delight tintured with sorrow when face to face with these inestimable treasures." As Burritt died in 1879, this letter, if written by him, could not have been written after that time. But Dr. Holmes did not "stand face to face with these inestimable treasures" till they were brought to this country in 1882.

Another point calls for notice. When, in 1882, the three portraits were exhibited at the Boston Art Museum, it was observed that the eyes of the full-face portrait of Washington were brown. The curator, Mr. Charles G. Loring, struck by this error, directed to it the attention of his assistant, Miss Gray, and of various other persons. When the portraits returned to America in 1886, the eyes were blue. Accordingly, while the autotypes copyrighted in 1882 show the iris as nearly black, the autotype in Major Walter's recent book

shows it as almost white. When Major Walter was desired to explain this remarkable change, he replied that the blue came out in consequence of wiping the dirt from the picture and applying a coat of varnish. But we have it on the unimpeachable testimony of Mr. Loring that when the picture was in his keeping it was in excellent condition, with no dirt to be removed and no need of varnish. In the profile of Washington, as well as the full face, the eyes, which were brown in 1882, are blue in 1886. Curiously enough, Mr. Arthur Dexter observed, when the pictures were at the Art Museum, that while the eyes of Washington were brown instead of blue, those of his wife were blue instead of brown. Whether or not the three Washington portraits were based on drawings made from life by Sharples, this transposition of color betrays the hand of one who had forgotten or who never saw the essential features of his subject.

Major Walter places great weight on the evidence of an aged gentleman, Dr. Van Pelt, who in 1854, in a letter which bears marks of being genuine, writes that when he was a child, and before Washington was President, he once took hold of the buttons of the General's coat and looked up into his face, and that the portraits answered to his recollection. The recollections of an octogenarian of a face seen for a few moments when a child, are not usually very accurate. His letter, however, testifies only to what was already plain; for nobody denies that the portraits bear some resemblance to Washington, — a fact which is far from proving that they were painted from life.

As to the "blessed mother," as Major Walter styles the alleged portrait of the elder Mrs. Washington, the Committee regard the evidence touching it as wholly unsatisfactory. Concerning the portraits of ladies of Washington's time, Major Walter himself admits them to be recent paintings based on sketches which he says were made from life by Sharples. Washington, he further says, valued them highly on account of pleasant associations which, to borrow Major Walter's words, "caused these little else than skeletons being clung to in the manner *evidenced* to the day of his death."

The above is but a part of the reasons which tell against the historical value of the collection. If all were said that

might be said, this report would stretch to thrice its present prolixity. Those who wish to pursue the inquiry further are referred to the accompanying letters of Major Walter to Mr. Ellis, and to the annexed communication of Mr. Goodell, to whose careful study of the subject the Committee are much indebted.

It is well known that an English painter named Sharpless — written “Sharples” by Major Walter — came to America three, or possibly five, years before the death of Washington; that he here made many portraits, chiefly in crayon, of prominent persons, including Washington and his wife, and that some of these portraits, in an unfinished state, were carried by him to England. It may, therefore, well be that the portraits shown by Major Walter are based on sketches by this artist; but the fact that the eyes were incorrectly colored in all of the three Washington portraits seems to prove that the final work was done by some other painter who had never seen the originals. In the letter in Major Walter’s book, ascribed to Macready, though written in Walterian English, occurs the following passage, which is an admission that the pictures in their present state are partly the work of another hand than that of Sharpless: “Stanfield and Maclise agree as to the portraits having at Mr. Cary’s death suffered a good deal from storage in a lumber-room; careful restoration has remedied this, and made them far better than Sharples left them” (p. 22).

In considering the question whether or not Sharpless had any hand in Major Walter’s three Washington portraits, it is to be observed, first, that the two undoubted Sharpless profiles, belonging to the late G. W. P. Custis and to Mrs. Goldsborough, — one of which is reproduced in Miss Johnston’s collection of Washington portraits, — bear no resemblance whatever to the alleged Sharpless profile exhibited by Major Walter; secondly, that Major Walter’s full-face portrait is that of a man in the prime of life, whereas Sharpless never saw Washington till he was an old man, and did not paint his portrait till 1796, only three years before his death.

The Committee began their inquiry under a strong impression that the three portraits were what they were represented to be; but this was quickly removed on an examination of the evidence produced by Major Walter in proof of his assertions,

since it is of such a character that, from reasons given above, and others almost equally cogent, they feel compelled wholly to reject it.

For the Committee,

F. PARKMAN, *Chairman*.

It was voted by the Society that the foregoing report be printed in full in the daily newspapers.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., then said:—

Mr. President, — The fourth volume of the second series of the Society's Collections, printed in 1816, contains a piece of poetry entitled "The Non-Conformist's Oath," which purports to have been copied verbatim from a manuscript volume of Deputy-Governor Thomas Danforth, who died at an advanced age in 1699, and who describes it as "copies of some verses sent from England in 1666."

Many years ago our late President found among the Winthrop Papers another copy of these verses, which he assumed to be identical with the one just mentioned, but which I have recently examined, and find to differ materially from it, not merely in spelling and numerous changes of isolated words, but also in the insertion of an entire stanza, and one of the best. I have not been able to identify the handwriting, but its general character and the appearance of the paper stamp it as being contemporaneous; and I imagine that it was either brought over by Governor John Winthrop the younger on his return to New England in 1663 or sent to him not long after by some friend in London. I am satisfied that it is the original version, that the Danforth copy is an imperfect one; and I accordingly applied to our associate Dr. Dexter, the great authority on Congregational literature, to know whether "The Non-Conformist's Oath" was to be found in print elsewhere than in the old volume of the Society's Collections to which I began by referring. Dr. Dexter replied that his first impression was that he had somewhere seen it, but after careful search he failed to find it or any reference to it. Some gentleman present may be more fortunate; but if not, it has occurred to me that we might now like to print it correctly. Seventy years have elapsed since we published the other, which few persons are likely now to recall; and as the verses are, I think, an exceptionally interesting example of the satirical

poetry of the period of the Restoration, with a healthy Puritan ring to them, and not long, I will venture to read them.

They are indorsed "The Non-Conformist's Oath," and the sub-title is, —

"A non-conformist doth declare
Both what he can and can nott sweare."

"I feare an oath, before I sweare, to take it,
And well I may, for 'tis the oath of God,
I feare an oath, when I have sworne, to break it,
And well I may, for vengeance hath a rod.

"And yet I may and must sweare, for 'tis due
Both to my heavenly and my earthly king,
If I assert, it must be full and true
And if I promise, I must doe the thing.

"I am no quaker not at all to sweare,
Nor papist to sweare east and meane a west,
But am a protestant and will declare
What I can nott and what I can protest.

"I never will endeavour Alteration
Of Monarchy nor of the Royall name,
Which God hath chosen to command the nation,
But will maintain his person, crowne, and fame.

"What he command (if conscience say not nay,
For conscience hath a greater king than hee)
For conscience sake (not feare) I will obey,
And if not active, passive I will bee.

"I'll pray that all his subjects may agree
And never more be crumbled into parts,
I will endeavour that his Majesty
May not be king of Clubbs, but king of hearts.

"The Royall Oake I swear I will defend
But for the Ivy which doth hugge it soe,
I swear it is a theife and not a freind,
And upon Steeples fittest is to grow.

"The Civill Government I will obey,
But for church polity I sweare I doubt it,
And if my bible want Apocrypha,
I hope my booke may be compleat without it.

"I dare not sweare Church Government is right
As it should be, yet this I dare to sweare,
If you will put me to 't, the bishops might
Doe better, and be better, than they are.

"Nor will I sweare, for all that they are worth,
That Bishopricks shall stand and doomesday see,
Yet I will sweare the Gospell holdeth forth
That Christ with 's ministry till then will be.

"That Peter was a prelate they averre,
But I'll not sweare 't when all is said and done,
But dare to sweare, and hope I shall not erre,
He preach't a hundred sermons to their one.

"S^t Peter was a fisher and caught men
And they have netts and in them catch men too,
But I'll not sweare they are alike, for them
He catch't and saved they catch 'em and undoe.

"I dare not sweare the church Ecclesiastick
Doe in their lawes make just and gentle votes,
But I'll be sworne that Burton, Prin, and Bastick
Were once *eare*-witnesses of harsher notes.¹

"Archdeacons, Deanes and Chapters are brave men
By cannons, not by scripture, and to this
If I be called, I'll sweare and sweare again,
That no such chapter in my Bible is.

"I'll not condemne those presbiterians who
Refused Bishopricks and might have had 'em,
But M^{rs} Calamy I'll swear doth do
As well as if she were a spirituall Madam.²

"For holy vests I dare not take an Oath
Which Linnen most canonicall may be,
Some are for Lawne, some holland, some Scots cloth,
And *hempe* for some is fitter than all three.

¹ In the preceding reign the Rev. Henry Burton, the famous William Prynne, and Dr. John Bastwick had been sentenced to have their ears cropped, at the instigation, it is believed, of Archbishop Laud.

² Wife of the celebrated Presbyterian divine, the Rev. Edmund Calamy.

“ Paul had a cloake, and bookes and parchments too,
But that he wore a surplice I'll not sweare,
Nor that his parchments did his orders show,
Or in his bookes there was a Common prayer.

“ I owe assistance to the king by Oath
And if he please to putt the prelates downe
(As who can tell what may be) I'll be loath
To see Tom Beckett's mitre push the Crowne.

“ And yet Church Government I doe allow,
And am contented bishops be the men,
And that I speake in earnest here I vow
Where we have one I wish we might have ten.

“ In fine, the civill power I'll obey
And seeke the peace and welfare of the Nation,
If this won't doe, I know not what to say
But farewell London, farewell Corporation !”

I desire also to communicate a number of letters from Richard Leader to John Winthrop, Jr., between 1646 and 1660. More than a year ago Dr. Charles Edward Banks, known to many of us as an interesting writer upon the early history of Maine, asked me to make an exhaustive examination of the unpublished Winthrop Papers, in order to ascertain whether there existed any letters, or additional letters, of certain “ Maine Worthies,” of whom he furnished me a long list. All I could find was one additional letter of Henry Boade, which I communicated to the Society in December, 1885, and which has since been printed, together with these of Richard Leader, which I have only recently found time to decipher and copy. Leader was a man of considerable cultivation and scientific attainment for that period, who, having previously been engaged in mining operations in Ireland, was sent out here from England in 1645 as superintendent of the iron-works at a liberal salary. He subsequently undertook copper-mining on his own account in Essex County; and when this proved a failure, he embarked in sugar-refining and the manufacture of salt in the West Indies, besides finding time to build a large saw-mill at Kittery, where he acquired a valuable estate, became a magistrate, and was at one time sent to England to appeal to Parliament against the alleged encroach-

ments of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in Maine. He is believed to have been related to the Cutts family of Portsmouth (though in what degree has not been ascertained), and he was an intimate friend not only of John Winthrop, Jr., but also of the well-known Dr. Robert Child, who speaks of Leader as possessing a curious library, especially strong in theology. These letters are variously dated in London, in Boston, in Maine, and in Barbadoes, and relate chiefly to the commercial ventures of the writer, with occasional references to public affairs. One passage in a letter from Barbadoes in the early part of 1660 astonished me not a little. Leader, who had lived much in many countries, complains bitterly of the West Indian climate, and says that but for the assistance in his enterprises afforded him by slave-labor, he would much rather live in New England, adding, "For my owne part, I see no place either for profit or pleasure so good as Ireland, where I intend to steere my course so soon as I cann withdraw what I have oute of this westerne world." In view of what historians tell us of the deplorable condition of Ireland in the years immediately succeeding the Cromwellian wars, it is somewhat remarkable that Leader—who had been a good deal of a traveller, and who was neither an Irishman born nor a Roman Catholic—should have pitched upon that country as the pleasantest and most profitable place of residence in the world.

He was not, however, destined to return there. In the succeeding letter (in August of the same year) he describes his health as having gone on from bad to worse, being, to use his own words, "a weaknes & feeblenes in all my lymbes, being the dreggs of a desperate disease which we call the Belly-Ake," which prevented him from leaving Barbadoes until the spring of 1661, and which resulted in his death on his estate at Kittery not long after. It has been suggested that the reason Leader was at one time in hot water with the authorities in Massachusetts was because he was a member of the Church of England; but I think this theory is effectually disproved by a passage in the letter from which I have just quoted, where, in allusion to the restoration of Charles II., he says:—

"I question not but you are fully informed of the great change and sudden alteration in England. If the tender-hearted ones are deprived the liberty of their consciences, to serve their God in truth of heart, but must all be forced to fall downe to what shall be Established by a State,

my face shall be turned away from ever having thought to see my native country while I live. The Lord only knows what the end of these things will bee. He that sitts in heaven will have them in decision."

[Six of Leader's letters are here printed in full. Two unimportant ones are omitted.]

HAMERSMITH, the 21th of August, 1648.

S^r, — Your kind letter by the bearer I have rec: by which I am glad to understand of your good healthe. I certefie you the like of myne. I have lately received from the Doc, whose remembers his love to you and hath ordered me to see if his fine can be remitted; which he will venture in your black lead myne, in case you approve of it.¹ S^r, I want 4 or 5^{lb} of mercury to trie some Stone I have. I would intreat you for soe much of that I spared you of the Doc's, and that with what speede you canne. The company are very much discontented, and use me not as I have deserved. They have sent one over to take an azco of things, and to give them sattisfaction how things stand with us. But I am in some doubt they will be failed of their expectation in him. For my p^{te} I am resolved they shall provide them with another Agent, except a more cleere understanding cann be maintained betwext us. This with my hearty Love to you in hast I rest

Your Loveing friend, RICH: LEADER.

To his very Loving fr^d JOHN WINTHROP Jun^r Esq^r these, at Pequott.

PISCATAWAY, the 12th of 7brs 1655.

DEARE S^r, — I have herewith sent you two of a sort of those bookes I promised you; to the intent you may reserve one by you, and yet pleasure your freinds either by loane or gifte with the other. I have also sent you the dementions of a furnace hearth. But I can not at present find the booke it is in, it being packed away in some trunke amongst other things. I shall mynd it, and send it to you by the first opportunity. If these should overtake you at Boston you may have the cost for me of M^r Osborne, which I wrote him from London in a letter in 1650, according to which derection he made the hearth that made both the most Iron and best yield that ever was yet made in New-England. I know he hath my letter. I have not more to enlarge but close up these lynes with the presentation of my reall love to yo and to yo^r good wife, remaining alwaies

Your very Loveing freind, RICH: LEADER.

I pray remember my love to ould White and to John Elderkin.

To his honoured friend M^r JOHN WINTHROP, these dl.

¹ Dr. Robert Child.

Boston, the 26th of January 1655.

S^a, — After my salute with these lynes of my reall & true love to you and to your good wife, I could not but acquainte you that since I parted from you I have concluded with som friends to goe set on the makeing of salte at the Barrbados ; which on serious consideration I find to be a busines of greate value, in regard of the situation and the great resort of shipping thither, and the easines of makeing salte there and benifitt of the trade flowing thereof. And the rather I am moved to informe you to the end it may not in any waise damage you in your intentions, which I heare (since my comeing to towne) are to set on that designe here by the way of boyleing. I wish you had hinted it to me at our meeteing, to the end I might then have had occation given to manifest my thoughts that way. For our purpose is to suply not only this country (and at easey termes) but also Nova-terra and England and Ireland also, so farr as wee cann ; for I no waies question the makeing what quanteties wee please. I hope to be goeing hence towards the barbados about the latter end of the next month or the middle of mrch at the farthest, and as sone as I have set our busines in a posture of acteing (which I hope shall be within one month after my arrivall there) I intend to London, and from thence back there, to finish what shall be now begunne. In which busines, and the trade flowing from it, I shall have occation of much helpe, both for Agents & comon servants ; and therefore if you have not any better opportunity for yo^r sonnes preferment, and that you continew in the mynd you weare when I saw you last, and also if the yonge manes mind inclyne to be a marchant, I should gladly receive him, and for your sake do him what good I could.¹ For which, if he pruve towardly, it will be a portion sufficient for him in this world ; if otherwise, it will be his losse & his friends sorrow & griefe. He shall be to me not as a Servant but as a sunn ; if he mynd but his owne good, to be dilligent and faithfull in what he shall be intrusted with and imployed in, my love will be much inflamed to him. If he should be of a stubborne & crosse nature, it would not sut with my temper, it being such as could not use any harsh meanes to drive, but love to draw. I shall forbear p^rviding myselfe with any till I heare from you, the which I pray let be with what speede you cann ; I should be glad it might be before I parte the country.

Here is a yatch lately come from England, by whome wee rec this newes in short. That a generall plenty is still in England, and settled pease at home, & conclusion of pease with france, but open war with spaine ; a declaration of the grounds thereof being also gonne over which I have read but two tedious to relate. The two Generalls Penn & Venables arived, and both in the Tower for a time, but released

¹ Fitz-John Winthrop, then a youth of seventeen, subsequently an officer in the Parliamentary army.

again; all the fleete paid of by the p'tector very fully & freely, and great preparation for a fresh fleete, both to the Indies, and on the coaste of Spaine. The bills of exch: from these partes accept & paid with honnor [two words illegible]. The protector resolves to carie it an end with vigor and is much incensed against the Spanyards. Capt Gougen is now come and hath comission to transport all people from these partes to Jamaica that have mynds to goe (& are not able to pay their passage) at the publike charge. There is a great plaigue in hoff, so as but little trade betwix them & England. The generall news is that all the cristian world is in warrs & broyles; happy is our nation to be at pease at home. There is 1000 horse & foote kept in each county in England to be a guard for the country, which is maintained by the delinquents. Ireland in a very peacable & gallant condition, the greatest part of the army disbanded, paid their areares in lands & turne planters, which is delivered to them on the termes the adventurers have theirs. I shall close these lynes with my love once more presented & remaine

Your Loveing friend,

RICH: LEADER.

To his much honoured friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r
at his house at Pequott, dl

*Agreement between Richard Leader, Thomas Broughton, & John
Winthrop, Jun^r.*

Whereas M^r John Winthrop hath discovered to Richard Leader and Thomas Broughton an art for makeing of salt in the Barbadoes in a better, shorter, and cheaper way then hath bin formerly used by any he knowes or heard of, the said Richard Leader and Thomas Broughton doe solemnely promise and engage themselves in the penalty of twenty thousand pounds sterling to keepe secret and not discover directly or indirectly to any, or make use or tryall of the said way in any part of the world except upon such termes and valluable consideration as they shall all agree on with the said M^r Winthrop. Witness our hands this first of Aprill, 1656.

RICH: LEADER.

THOMAS BROUGHTON.

[Endorsed, by J. W. Jr.,

"M^r Leader & M^r Broughton's Ingagem^t about the Art of Salt &c."]

BARBADOS, the 16th of January, 1656.

S^a, — I rejoyced when I heard of your health by this bearer, and haveing so fit an opportunity could do no lesse then present you with a lyne of love. And to let you know of some part of my perigreenation

since I parted from you. I have been in England from the i^o of Septem^r 1657 till the last of May 58, in which time I saw many changes in the governments of this world, and in perticuler persons also. Myselfe & my condition being subjected to change, Sometime to abound & sometime to want. While I remained in England I married a Gentlewoman whome a long time had waited for me on that acc^t, whom I left in London expecting to returne to her within a yeares time from my departure, whoe found and saw clearly that it could not be, and therefore is now with me to my great content. My busines for the present is the refineing of suger, which I finde to be a trade both ingenuous & profittable, and will give me a good subsistance whilst I remaine here, the Lord adding a blessing to our endeavors.

I have followed the salte-workes with my full power of purse and person, since I came over last as well as formerly. But as yet there hath not been so cleere a demonstration made as will satisfie the world, by reason of the raines comeing in upon us before we could do anything after a sett of ponds were finished. And now at last the windmill shafte being rotten & broke, being by that meanes deprived to raise water to the ponds, cann do nothing till that defecte be amended, and being out of purse so much myselfe on that designe, to the value of 600^{lb} S^t, cannot disburse more on that acc^t till I have a right understanding with those interested with me, there being great changes with them since my undertakeing of this designe.

I have made a sett of ponds, in number five, being one lower then the other 6 inches, to the end the water might passe from one to the other by little sluces afixed to them for that end; four of the said ponds were for the hightening of the water into pickle, the other for coin^g the salte that shall be ripened by the other ponds; for I see clearly that a small pond will serve to coine the salte that great quantities of ground will heighten. For I do find clearly that the salte water of the sea here lends but a 32 part of salte in it, by which rule 32 tuns of water will make but one tun of salt. The 16th after I filled my ponds (which hold very tite) and set them at worke I had salte in my coining pond, and there being water in all the rest heightening to come in successively, so that every day wee should have raked salte. And had the weith^r continewed but one weeke or fortnight longer, I should have been fully satisfied in all things what quantety of salte so much ground would make, and in what time, and what would be the charge thereof; which is the only thing wanting. But this I cannot doubt of, the feasability of the thing. Neither is there any obstruction in Nature but that which may be remediable by art. A small time and cost will make full tryall of it, which as sone as I cann spare time and mony shall be don, God sparing me life and health. I am not in love with

this clyme, nor with the people in generall; I see most evidently the coulder & midle tempered zones are the sweete clymes. That where you live I do approve of to be very good, were it not so much in the extreemes of hot & could. Both in the natural temper of the weither and in the sivillity of the people ruleing, I am confident I could make as much p'fit & raise as staple comodities as any in the world with you, had I but so many slaves under me, to be ruled by rigor, as they do here, and cleere more by them then they do here. I see that plantations are worth nothing in themselves, were it not for the vast number of slaves they have on them, and these maintained at an easy charge. For my owne part I see no place so good as Ireland either for p'fitt or pleasure, where I intend to steere my course so sone as I cann withdraw what I have oute of this westerne parte of the world.

Sr, I pray excuse me for my longe scrowle and favoure me with a lyne from you, that I may heare of youre welfare and what p'gresse you have made in the Iron worke which M^r Goodyer (at his being in England before his death) tould me you had great hopes it would do well. I shall close these lynes with the presentation of my love to you and to your good wife & ever rest

Your assured Loveing fr^d,

RICH: LEADER.

I have here sent you p this bearer, M^r Giles Hamblett, a small token of my love, namely two suger loafes, it being some frutes of my profession.

To JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r these present
In New-England

Pr M^r Giles Hamlet, whome God preserve.

BARBADOS the 14th of August 1660.

WORTHY SR, — Yours of 22th of May is come to my hands by M^r Hamblin by whome I send these. It joyed my heart to see a lyne from your hand (though in some weaknes); I hope by this time God hath restored to perfect strength againe. I thanke you for that longe acco^t you render me of the state of Minerall affaires in that country. Another age may bring something to perfection, when the country shall be furnished with men of partes to manage that busines. I should have sent you the moddall desired by you, but my indisposition for present action & the pressing of other busines hath prevented at present. But I intend to come for New-England in the Spring, and then I am not out of hope to see your face & to communicate my thoughts to you by oculer demonstration. My cheifest end being to see to recover my

lost health which this clyme hath in great measure deprived me of. Being a weaknes and feeblenes in all my lymbes, being the dreggs of a desperate disease which we call the Belly-Ake, which is only restored by remove into the coulder clymes as experience teacheth. I should have come now but that I dare not aproch those partes in the winter season, haveing been so long in the heate. I intend as soon as a way is opened to remove into the temperate zones, who are inriched with many comfortes which wee are deprived of here, the changes of Winter & Summer and the many variety of fruits, and other things which is great content to the mynd of man. I cann make a true estimate of the one and the other in some measure.

I question not but you are fully informed of the great change and sudden alteration in England. If the tender hearted ones are deprived the liberty of their consciences, to serve their God in truth of heart, but must all be forced to fall downe to what shall be Established by a State, my face shall be turned away from ever having thought to see my native country while I live. The Lord only knowes what the end of these things will bee. He that sitts in heaven will have them in decision.

Time permitts me not to inlarge, and therefore I must close these lynes with the presenting you & your wife with my reall & true affections, and shall ever remaine

Your very Loveing fr^d

RICH: LEADER.

To the worship^l and his much honoured friend

JOHN WINTHROP Esq^r dl
In New England.

Mr. WINTHROP then continued :—

I desire also to communicate from the same source a document which has caused me much labor in deciphering, and which is a petition to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, dated June 21, 1637, and signed by Richard Saltonstall, Nathaniel Warde, John Norton, Daniel Denison, Samuel Appleton, and many others of the then inhabitants of Ipswich, fifty-six in all. The original signatures attached render it of considerable local interest in Essex County, and it is intended to give it to the Essex Institute ; but before doing so I prefer to communicate it here, as we should undoubtedly have printed it long ago if it had not escaped notice. Ipswich, as we all know, was settled in 1633 by twelve of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, headed by John Winthrop, Jr. He gradually acquired a considerable estate there, became lieutenant-colonel of the

Essex County regiment, of which John Endicott was colonel; and though repeatedly absent in England, in Connecticut, and in attendance upon the meetings of the Council at Boston, yet for a period of twelve years he considered Ipswich his home, and all the time he could spare from his public duties was devoted to his farm there. This petition, of which I find no mention upon the records of Massachusetts, would appear to have been hurriedly prepared in consequence of a rumor that it was the intention of the Council to appoint him to a military command which would have necessitated the removal of his family from Ipswich. It is addressed "To our much honored Gov^r & Counsellors att Boston, these."

Our humble duties & respects premised: understanding there is an Intention to call M^r Winthrop Jun from us & to remitt the Custody of the Castle to him, we could not, out of the entire affection we beare to him & his welfare, but become earnest petitioner^s to your worship^s that you would not deprive our Church & Towne of one whose presence is so gratefull & usefull to us. It was for his sake that many of us came to this place & wthout him we should not have come. His abode with us hath made our abode here much more comfortable than otherwise it would have bene; M^r Dudley's leaving us hath made us much more desolate & weake than we were, & if we should loose another magistrate it would be too great a greif to us & breach upon us, & not a magistrate only but our Lieutenant Colonell so beloved of our Soldiours & military men that this remote Corner would be left destitute & desolate. Neith^r can we conceive but that this removall from us will much prejudice & unsettle him; the place he is chosen unto we feare will neith^r mayntaine him & his company comfortably nor prove certaine to him, but upon sundray occasions mutable. It would be very uncomfortable to him, as we suppose, to live upon others maintenāce, or to neglect that portion of land & love which God hath given him amongst us; the improvall of his estate here we hope will prove a better & surer support then a yearly stipend from the country w^{ch} hath groaned much under the burthen of that Fort already. We find his affections great & constant to our Towne & we hope our's shall never faile towards him & his. We therefore humbly beseech you that we may still enjoy him, & that you would not expose him to so solitary a life & a place where we hope there will not be much use of him: nor us to the losse & want of one so much desired of us. The distance we are sett in hath made us earnest for the company of able men & as loath to loose them when we have obtained them.

Thus hoping you will please to consider & tender our condition we humbly take our leaves, resting

JUNE 21. 1637.

You^r worp^s in all due serviss,

Richard Salstonstall^r

Nath^l Warde.

John Norton.

Daniell Denison.

Samuell Appleton.

Thomas Bressye.

Robertt Andrewes.

Joseph Morse.

Christopher Osgood.

John Perkins, Jouner.

Richard Jacob.

Philip Fowler.

William Goodhue.

Roger Lanckton.

Thomas Dorman.

Joseph Medcalfe.

Thomas Boeman.

John Webster.

Robert Lord.

Thomas Wells.

John Gassett.

John Coggsweil.

Humfried Bradstreet.

Thomas Corse. (?)

Henry Syewall.

Edward Katcham.

Thomas Clark.

John Gage.

William Barthollmew.

Michael Cathwrite.

Samuell Charman.

Thomas Trench.

W. Hubbard.

Jonathan Wade.

William White.

John Pirkines, Senar.

George Carr.

John Tuttall.

Richard Hasfield.

George Giddings.

Edward Gardner.

John Latchwell.

John Saunders.

John Severnes.

Anthony Colby.

Robert Mussy.

John Peekins.

Nathaniell Bishop.

John Proctor.

John Coventun.

Allen Perley.

Thomas Howlitt.

William Fuller.

Alexander Knight.

(Illegible.)

Jhon Thomson.

Thomas Hardy.¹

Some of us that are members of the Church att Boston are bold to clayme this promise from M^r Winthrop for whome we write, that if we would came hith^r wth him he would not forsake us, but live & die wth us: upon these promises we came wth him to beginn this plantation, and they were made to us upon the proposall of our feares that when we were drawne hith^r he should be called way from us. And we both desire & hope that they may be alwayes remembered & p^rformed.

¹ Gaps in the above list would indicate that space was left for signatures which there was no time to secure.

Either as a result of this petition, or because there proved to be no foundation for the report upon which it was based, the subject of it continued for eight years longer to maintain a close connection with Ipswich, though necessarily much absent upon important public duties. Indeed it was not till the end of 1649 that he ceased to be a Massachusetts magistrate, and early in the following year removed his family to Connecticut. In this connection it seems proper to communicate another document, which has hitherto escaped attention, and which is the original letter of recommendation of Mr. and Mrs. John Winthrop, Jr., from the First Church of Boston to Saybrook Church at the mouth of the Connecticut River. It is dated July 23, 1650, and signed by John Cotton, John Wilson, and Thomas Oliver, the body of the letter being in the handwriting of Wilson.

To the Reverend pastor & Beloved brethren in the Church of Christ at Seabrooke, grace & peace in our Lord Jesus.

It having pleased the Lord by his Allwise providence to remove the honored brother of our church, M^r John Winthrop, with our beloved sister his wife, M^{rs} Elizabeth Winthrop, & together wth them our beloved sisters, Eliz: the wife of Samuel Lothrop & Johaⁿa the wife of Isaac Willy, unto the new plantation at Pekott, there to dwell & abide (where before now they well hoped, as we did also, that the good ordinances of Christ may be established according to his owne Institution, & still we doe hope for the same good blessing, wth they pursue after) : but in the meanwhile the Lord so disposing that they be destitute thereof, neyther can enjoy at such a distance their wonted com^munion wth us, & therfore have desired our reco^mendation unto your church, to the end y^t as God doth give them opportunity, they or any of them may partake of the holy things of God amonge you & the comfort of the holy fellowship therein,—we do therefore reco^mend them & each one of them unto you for the same end, Beseeching you accordingly to receive them in the Lord as becometh Saints: unto whose abundant grace we co^mend you all, as by yo^rselves we desire to be co^mended through Christ Jesus.

Your very loving brethren the Elders of the Church of Christ at Boston, in the Behalfe & upon the deliberate & exprest consent of the whole Church here,

JOHⁿ COTTON.
JOHN WILSON.
THO. OLIVER.

This 23 of the 5th. 50.
BOSTON.

To the Church of Christ at Seabrooke Fort.

I desire further to communicate, from the same source, a letter from Richard Steele (afterwards better known as Sir Richard Steele the dramatist) to Governor Joseph Dudley. It is dated June 25, 1700, when the writer was private secretary to the famous Lord Cutts, Dudley's friend and patron; and I should have communicated it with the Cutts Letters a year ago, if it had not got mixed up with some letters of the Steele family of Connecticut. I am informed that Richard Steele's early letters are rare; the cover of this one is missing, but it is endorsed "Mr Steel," in Dudley's hand.

JUNE 25th 1700.

S^R, — I have your kind railery of the 4th and shall not pretend to answer it: you excuse my not doing that in your observation of the losse of my brains, but the circumstances of that matter are such that you yourself, as wise as you really are, would have done the same thing. You can not imagine the sincere pleasure M^{rs} Lawrence's Pity gave me. I always had an honour for her, & knew she had, at the bottome, a generous disposition. I am just come of Hampton Court Guard. You already know L^d Jersey is Chamberlain, L^d Rumney Groom of the Stole. 'Tis expected L^d Pembroke will be Lieutenant of Ireland, L^d Lexington, or M^r Hill, Secretary in L^d Jersey's roome.

You shall always find me, D^r S^r, y^r most obedient, ready Humble Serv^t,

R. STEELE.

Lastly, I desire to say that while these communications to the Proceedings of short and somewhat desultory selections from the Winthrop Papers — so many of which have been made, from time to time, in former years by my father, and latterly by me — have been generally considered to possess a certain interest and value, yet it must not be forgotten that the Society long ago undertook gradually to print in its Collections whole volumes of selections from these papers for the benefit of students of early New England history. The fourth and last of these volumes appeared more than four years ago, and it will require at least a year to get out another. As there is now a considerable balance to the credit of the publishing funds, it has been decided, after consultation with those members who are most familiar with these papers and most interested in Colonial and early Provincial history, to ask the Society to take the work again in hand.

Messrs. C. C. Smith, R. C. Winthrop, Jr., and E. Channing were then appointed a committee to prepare for the Collections a fifth volume of selections from the Winthrop Papers.

Mr. WINSOR drew attention to the latest development respecting the authorship of the pretended letters of Montcalm, in which he had predicted, in 1759, the revolt of the American colonies in case Canada was conquered, and the French should cease to exist on their borders to occupy the attention of these English colonists. Mr. Winsor said:—

It will be remembered that the interesting part of these letters was an extract from one purporting to have been written by a French spy in Boston, signed "S. J.," whose views were adopted by Montcalm in writing, Aug. 24, 1759, only a few weeks before his death, to M. Molé in Paris. The earliest trace which I have found of these letters is in December, 1775, when Hutchinson says, in his diary, that they were circulating in London in manuscript, and that he had no doubt they were spurious, inasmuch as the condition of things which "S. J." describes as existing in Boston in 1759 did not exist there, and could not have been chronicled at that time as existing. Two years later these letters were printed by Almon, in London, in what purported to be the French original text, with an English version adjoined. They were quoted in Parliament; and in a famous debate on the American question instigated by Chatham, and in which Shelburne contended for their fraudulent character, and Mansfield for their authenticity, Chatham, who as it now turns out knew their history, remained silent on that point.

After the war was over and the question of their authenticity was forgotten, some writers who found the book in libraries seemed to have no difficulty in accepting the letters as genuine; and in this category we find such historians as Carlyle in the first edition of his "Frederick the Great," Mahon in the original issue of his "England," Viscount Bury in his "Exodus of the Western Nations," and such writers on Canadian history as Garneau, Warburton, and Mills, as well as Barry in his "Massachusetts."

In 1869 Mr. Parkman reported to this Society,¹ on his examination of the Montcalm papers in France, where he had

¹ Proceedings, vol. xi. pp. 112-128.

found a copy of one of the letters in a handwriting which at that time was unknown to him. His conclusion, however, from internal evidence was that they were spurious. In printing the letter to Molé in the Proceedings, Dr. Deane, who was the editor, by collating the several texts reached the conclusion that the original was the English text, and not the pretended French, and inferred from this that the letter could not have been written by Montcalm. The question was taken up the next year (1870) by Henry Stevens in a long note in his "*Bibliotheca Historica*," in which he came to a similar decision.

About the same time a development was made which for the first time connected the Jesuit Roubaud with the letters. Mr. Henry B. Dawson had found among the papers of William Gowans, the New York bookseller, a paper entitled "Mr. Roubaud's Deplorable Case," and, submitting it to Dr. John G. Shea, that gentleman had prepared a brief introduction on Roubaud, and this and the document were printed in the "*Historical Magazine*" in November, 1870. Roubaud was a vagabond priest, who lived by his wits, and had been a Jesuit missionary in Canada, and during his career as such had been the occasion of considerable scandal. After the peace of 1763 he seems to have wormed his way into the confidence of General Murray, then commanding for the English in Quebec, and to have been sent — to accept one of the versions of his career — to England to assist the British ministry in adjusting a demand on the French Government, by which he afterwards claimed to have secured to the British treasury some such sum as a million pounds. At all events, we find him at this period in England, his religion changed, with a Protestant wife, still addicted to scandalous living, and dancing attendance on the ministry, and ready to do any dirty job for them for pay, but mostly without pay, as he afterwards claimed. This "Deplorable Case" is a document which Roubaud submitted to Lord North, recounting his services and setting forth his claims to a suitable consideration. In this he says that at his second audience at Court, after reaching England, he put into his Majesty's hands these letters of Montcalm, and at some subsequent day another copy of the same was given by him to the Queen, for which she paid him twelve guineas; and from this second copy he says that the printed

copy was made, "without my consent and against the laws of trust and honor;" and one of his grounds for compensation was that this publication exasperated the Court of Versailles against him, and made it proceed to acts of vengeance upon him. In this paper he says not a word against the genuineness of the letters.

The next discussion of the subject was by Mr. Parkman, in his recent "*Montcalm and Wolfe*" (vol. ii. pp. 325, 326), where, after depicting the doubtful character of Roubaud, in referring to this "Deplorable Case," he cites the Abbé Verreau as certifying that the copy found among the papers of Montcalm was in the handwriting of Roubaud, and as believing that this adventurer must have been the author of the letters.

If the fellow can be trusted in direct evidence, he was not the author. The Haldimand Papers have been for nearly thirty years in the British Museum, and contain the secret, which has so long lain undiscovered. The Dominion of Canada, having established in 1872 a Department of Archives, has been since then stocking it with copies of papers relating to their history from the great depositories of Europe. Among other things they have had copies made of the Haldimand Papers, as closely touching these annals, that general having been so long in Quebec, and for some years in command. As these copies have reached Ottawa, they have been calendared by Mr. Brymner, the Dominion Archivist, and he has printed this calendar in successive Annual Reports, which to most historical students have been buried by being made a part of the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture. Mr. Brymner found among these copies, and has given in his last report, a full abstract of a paper similar in tendency to the already known "Deplorable Case," which he calls a "Sketch of Mr. Roubaud's Petition for the Consideration of Parliament" (Haldimand Coll., B. 206, p. 45; Brymner's Report, 1885, p. cxxxviii), in which Roubaud flatly acknowledges the spuriousness of the Montcalm letters, and says they were written by "an Englishman," — confirming Dr. Deane's theory of their being first written in English, — and that their author was intimately known to Chatham, who it will be remembered had silently sat by in the Lords, and heard Shelburne and Mansfield dispute over their authenticity. It is most probable that Roubaud made the French counterpart; and I may add,

in conclusion, that Mr. Brymner, in the body of his Report, has sketched with considerable detail the wild and dramatic career of this vagabond Roubaud.

Mr. ROGER WOLCOTT communicated a memoir of the late Hon. James M. Robbins, which he had been appointed to prepare.

MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. JAMES MURRAY ROBBINS.

BY ROGER WOLCOTT.

JAMES MURRAY ROBBINS was born and died in the town of Milton. In him were united many strains of the old Puritan blood of the early migrations to the Colony. It was perhaps this inheritance which constrained him and many of his ancestors to be useful and prominent in town and State affairs, and which tended also to make his mind conservative of the old methods and ideas when called upon to meet new questions which the later years brought for solution.

His first ancestor bearing the name of Robbins in America was Richard, who, with his wife Rebecca, established himself on the southerly side of Charles River, in Cambridge.

The third son of Richard was Nathaniel, — born, as was his father, in Scotland, — who married Mary Brazier, and lies in the Old Cambridge burying-ground. His oldest son, Nathaniel, was born Feb. 28, 1678, and married Hannah, daughter of William Chandler, of Andover, and Mary Dane.

Their third son, born Aug. 11, 1703, was Thomas Robbins, whose second son, by his first wife, Ruth Johnson, was Nathaniel, born April 17, 1726 (H. U. 1747). After his graduation he pursued at Cambridge the study of theology, and in 1751 was ordained minister of the church in Milton, in which office he died May 19, 1795. During this long pastorate of forty-four years, covering the period of the War of the Revolution, he performed his duties both as minister and as citizen with zeal and self-devotion. His sympathy and support were given to the popular cause, and in 1788 he represented the town in the Convention which adopted the Federal Constitution. A good if not brilliant preacher, a healer of

strife whether between churches or individuals, a man of sagacity and penetration, possessed of "a very accurate acquaintance with human nature," "he carried his amiable quality so far that even when those were mentioned who were blasted and flagitious, it was his custom to suggest an extenuation if possible." From contemporary evidence, too, we are assured that "in prayer he was remarkable for copiousness and facility of expression, and at funerals in particular he was admired for a variety of pathetick sentiments pertinent to every person immediately concerned, and to each incident that occurred." His wife was Elizabeth, youngest child of the Hon. Edward Hutchinson, and Lydia, daughter of the Hon. John Foster, who was a leading merchant and for many years Councillor.

Edward Hutchinson came of a distinguished family, was for many years Judge of Probate for Suffolk County, and was Treasurer of Harvard College from 1726 until his death in 1752. He was uncle of Thomas Hutchinson, who has received undeserved opprobrium as the last royal governor of the Province. His father, Elisha Hutchinson, Representative, Assistant, and Councillor, was the son of Colonel Edward Hutchinson, who met his death in an ambuscade in King Philip's War. Colonel Hutchinson was the son of William Hutchinson and his more famous wife, Ann Marbury, whose heretical theology caused her banishment by the austere Puritanism of the Bay Colony, and who finally fell a victim, as did her son, to the tomahawk of the savage.

The oldest son of the Rev. Nathaniel and Elizabeth Robbins was Edward Hutchinson Robbins, born Feb. 19, 1758 (H. U. 1775). After admission to the bar in 1779 he established himself in Milton, and entered upon a long career of useful and honorable service to his native town and to the State. When only twenty-one years of age he was elected a delegate to the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts, being the youngest member of that distinguished body. For fourteen years he represented the town of Milton in the Legislature, and for nine years he occupied the Speaker's chair. For the performance of the duties of this position he was exceptionally qualified both by temperament and attainments. In 1795 he was appointed chairman of a commission to buy the necessary land and erect a new State House, the vote creating the commission also authorizing the

sale of the Province House and the release to the town of Boston of the State's interest in the old State House. For ninety years the structure then erected has well sustained the test of changing taste. In 1796 he was elected by the House of Representatives to the United States Senate; but in this choice the other branch of the Legislature failed to concur, on the ground that the commercial interests of the State should be represented by a merchant rather than by a lawyer, and Mr. Goodhue, of Salem, was finally elected by the two Houses. For four years he filled the office of Lieutenant-Governor during the official term of Governor Strong. He was for seventeen years Judge of Probate for Norfolk County, and throughout his long and useful life his services were in constant requisition, both in public and private station; for his integrity and sound judgment rendered them of great value. He early became deeply interested in the purchase and settlement of the Commonwealth lands in Maine, and for more than forty years made annual visits to the region near Passamaquoddy. The profit from these investments did not accrue in his lifetime; but his name is perpetuated in the town of Robbinston on the St. Croix River, which attained considerable importance as a shipbuilding and trading port, until the decline of this industry checked the town's growth and converted its population from a seafaring to an agricultural community.

In November, 1785, he married Miss Elizabeth Murray, daughter of the Hon. James Murray and Barbara Bennett. Mr. Murray emigrated from Philiphaugh, Scotland, where his grandfather was hereditary Sheriff of Selkirk, to North Carolina, and established himself as a planter on the Cape Fear River. He here became a member of the Council of that Province; but in 1765, having lost his wife and several children, he removed to Boston with his two surviving daughters, who afterwards became Mrs. John Forbes and Mrs. E. H. Robbins.

Mr. Murray's sister was the wife of James Smith, whose sugar-house stood next below Brattle Street Church, and was occupied as barracks by Colonel Dalrymple's regiment, whence Captain Preston's company marched to the Boston Massacre. After the death of Mr. Smith his widow gave to her two nieces the estate on Brush Hill in Milton, where, soon after

1734, Mr. Smith had built the house in which the subject of this memoir was to pass the greater part of his life. Edward Hutchinson Robbins died in Boston, Dec. 29, 1829, and was deeply mourned by his friends and neighbors.

James Murray Robbins, his sixth child, was born June 30, 1796, in the old Gooch house on Milton Hill. When he was nine years old his father removed from Milton Hill to Brush Hill within the same town, making his residence in the Smith house, which had become the property of his wife; and here, eighty years later, the son died. He received his school education at the Milton Academy, which his father had been largely instrumental in founding, and of whose Board of Trustees the father and son filled the office of President for seventy-six years. At the age of fifteen he entered the counting-room of the prominent Boston merchants James and Thomas Handasyd Perkins, and there acquired a thorough training in business habits.

But the time was not propitious for commercial enterprise or success; the wide-spread stagnation of business, consequent upon the blockade maintained by the British fleet, and the hardly less oppressive acts of our own Government, seemed to bar the way to entering upon the career of a merchant. In 1814 his cousin John Murray Forbes, who was Consul-General at Hamburg, invited him to accept official employment at the consulate; and it is not difficult to imagine how gladly the boy of eighteen must have exchanged the round of dull and apathetic duty in the counting-room for the excitement of the voyage and of foreign travel.

Nor was his journey to Hamburg devoid of incident. Passage was taken in a Swedish brig to sail from New York; and Mr. Robbins reached that city by the way of Albany, passing down the Hudson by steamer. While awaiting the sailing of the brig, he gave two days of volunteer service in throwing up intrenchments on Brooklyn Heights. The brig, after many delays, put to sea, but when off Block Island was captured by a British cruiser, and taken to Gardiner's Bay, where was the rendezvous of the squadron. On the ground that the vessel was owned in Connecticut, the Admiral adjudged her to be lawful prize, and, placing her under command of a prize-officer, ordered him to report at Plymouth, England. Mr. Robbins was the only American on board, and was there-

fore, unlike the others, made prisoner of war. On reaching the English port, however, his extreme youth, and, it is said, the kindly interest of some ladies who had been his fellow-passengers, interceded in his behalf, and he was released. It must be admitted that a considerable experience had been crowded into a brief time for the lad who had so recently left the provincial and beleaguered town of Boston.

On reaching London, the anxiety and perhaps suffering of the voyage were doubtless succeeded by admiration and wonder; for the great metropolis was celebrating with pageant and fête and every demonstration of popular rejoicing the return of European peace, and the relief which it brought from the intolerable burdens of almost universal war.

But the adventures which were to attend his journey to Hamburg were not yet ended. The vessel in which he soon again embarked in London for his destination, went ashore in a dense fog at the mouth of the Elbe. The wind was strong, and the danger of the vessel going to pieces was great; but after several hours of exposure the passengers and crew succeeded in effecting a landing, saving, however, from the wreck only the clothing they wore. They were upon an island, and found shelter in the light-house, until, some days after, a boat transported them to the mainland. After such adventures, and in a destitute condition, did Mr. Robbins at length reach Hamburg, where the warm greeting of his kinsman, Mr. Forbes, must have been not unwelcome to him. He at once set himself resolutely to learn the German language, entering for this purpose the family of a country clergyman, and eventually acquired a rare accuracy and facility both of expression and pronunciation.

In 1815 Mr. Forbes was summoned from his post of duty by Mr. John Quincy Adams for conference in regard to the negotiation of commercial treaties with foreign powers, and Mr. Robbins was left in charge of the consulate with the title of Vice-Consul. The peace was of short duration. The news of Napoleon's escape from Elba electrified Europe, and the weeks of fevered excitement which followed culminated at Waterloo. Soon the streets of Hamburg echoed the tread of Blücher's veterans; and at a civic banquet given to the victor, to which the representatives of all foreign governments were invited, the boy of nineteen represented the United States.

After Mr. Forbes's return to Hamburg, Mr. Robbins by his orders acted for some time as Consul at Elsinore, — a residence which could not have been barren of vivid and lasting impressions.

Mr. Forbes was subsequently transferred to Rio Janeiro ; and Mr. Robbins, then about twenty-one, returned to Boston. In three years he had indeed seen much, had breathed the educating atmosphere of stirring events, and had learned the important lesson of self-reliance.

For two years he made voyages as supercargo to the West Indies and the Baltic in the interest of his old employers, and then entered into a partnership with his elder brother Edward Hutchinson Robbins for the manufacture and sale of woollen goods. In the commercial panic of 1829 the firm went down in the prevalent ruin, and Mr. Robbins seems then to have resolved never to expose himself to a recurrence of like ill-fortune. He did not again engage in business on his own account ; but his peculiar fitness, acquired through the varied experience of these past years, led to his appointment by some of the leading woollen manufacturers of New England as agent for the purchase of wool in Germany. This transferred him again to the scene of his former official duties ; and there he now spent a year and a half, for which he was liberally compensated.

Before his departure he had, with the help of a guide, made a careful and extended survey of a large part of the almost untrodden wilderness of Maine, led thereto by his father's large interests in the pine forests of Passamaquoddy ; and, impressed by the future importance of this product, he had himself secured, by purchase from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a tract of 20,000 acres near the Schoodic Lakes. On his return from Germany in 1834 — although the days had not yet come of the great speculation in Maine lands, which was to prove so disastrous to many — he was able to sell this land at a very large advance upon the purchase money.

In the same year he married Frances Mary Harris, daughter of Abel Harris, of Portsmouth, and Rooksby Coffin, daughter of William Coffin, of Boston, a cousin of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin. They had no children ; but the marriage proved a most happy one, and Mrs. Robbins's death in 1870 was a deep and enduring grief to him.

The sale of his Maine estates was a most fortunate transaction; for it furnished the means of realizing his long-cherished wish of becoming the sole owner of the old homestead on Brush Hill, where much of his boyhood had been passed, and which was endeared to him not more by its rare beauty of location than by the memory of the large family circle which had gathered about its hearthstone, and of the long list of guests — many of them the distinguished men of the time — whom his father's almost lavish hospitality had there brought together. This was his home during the remainder of his life. His love for it was a passion. It forbade change, which in his eyes could never seem improvement. The old buildings, the fences and walls, were to remain as they were in his boyhood. The old trees, many of them imported elms, generously planted by former generations, — nay, their very saplings, — should be untouched by the axe so long as he should live; and the fine fringe of trees which everywhere skirts the lichen-covered stone walls of the estate attests his vigilant guardianship. The extensive view from the house, including the distant blue of the harbor, the twin church spires, the wooded range of the Blue Hills, and the broad and verdant meadows, was always a source of keen enjoyment to him.

Once, however, his treasured possessions were threatened by a great danger, which roused him to the fullest activity in their defence. The new and vigorous town of Hyde Park, spreading with the rapid growth of a manufacturing community, sought the authority of the Legislature to add to its territory by annexing a portion of Milton, including Mr. Robbins's estate. His energetic opposition to this project and his untiring efforts to defeat it were successful. In the town of Milton he had been born, and in the town of Milton he would die.

This was not the only service he rendered to the town of his birth, for which his affection was always so strong. In 1837 and again in 1861 he represented Milton in the General Court, and in 1842 was one of the senators from Norfolk County. He was frequently called to serve upon committees whenever the interests of the town were involved or important action was to be taken, and his judgment was always considered to carry much weight and influence. Originally a Whig, he joined the Republican party at its formation, and

thereafter consistently acted with it, although not without criticism of some of its most important tendencies and measures. His wife had long shared the opinions and counsels of the anti-slavery leaders; and in him was awakened a sense of indignant resentment by the assault upon Charles Sumner in the Senate-chamber. In the demonstration made by the citizens of Boston upon Mr. Sumner's return, Mr. Robbins bore a prominent part.

While a young man he developed a strong taste for historical and antiquarian research, and throughout life this taste directed much of his reading and thought. He made a careful and leisurely exploration of Dorsetshire, England, whence came so many of the first settlers of Massachusetts Bay, and made his mind a storehouse of accurate information touching the families and events which had illustrated the early history of the New England town of Dorchester. When this history was written in 1859, he was the author of the first six chapters. In 1862 he accepted the invitation of the town of Milton to deliver the address at the celebration of its two hundredth year. In this address he traces in much detail the lives of the prominent early and later inhabitants of the town, giving abundant proof of his wide information regarding family history, and of his patience in research and exactness in statement. By vote of the town in 1883 he was made chairman of a committee appointed to prepare a history of Milton, and to him were referred the early pages of this work for correction and elucidation. In spite of his great age at this time, his co-laborers in the work bear willing testimony to the extreme value of the aid thus rendered. In 1860 he was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in this association he found always much interest and enjoyment.

But as the years went on, the naturally conservative tendency of Mr. Robbins's mind led him to withdraw himself in great measure from active participation in the affairs of men. He praised the time that is past, and looked forward with apprehension to the time that is to come. To borrow Mr. Lowell's thought, evolution in his view too often took on its lacking initial, and wore the threatening aspect of revolution. He failed to perceive the logical necessity of social and political change; and as he looked forth upon the passing events

of the time, he deemed himself gazing upon the turbulence of the rapids, just above the fateful plunge of the cataract. As he could not stay the current, he sheltered himself more and more within the seclusion of his beautiful estate, and with no trace of bitterness or cynicism devoted himself to the life of a country gentleman, finding pleasure in his acres and venerable trees, reading and studying as his inclination directed, and living in friendly and helpful intercourse with his neighbors.

His bearing and manner were dignified and genial. In his old age his dress and appearance seemed to reflect the unchanging stability and respectable antiquity of his opinions. His figure was sturdy and erect, his features massive, and his smile ready and pleasing. Through judicious management his property was much increased, and he left a large estate.

Until within two years of his death, at the ripe age of eighty-nine years and four months, he retained in a remarkable degree his vigor both of body and mind. He died on Monday, Nov. 2, 1885, in the home he had loved so well, and was buried, as were his father and grandfather, in the cemetery of the town which the three generations had served and honored. With him disappeared the family name, which for one hundred and thirty-five years had been held in respect and affection by his fellow-townsmen.